

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9976

INFO AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VALETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 0973

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, FI, SW, AU, SZ

SUBJECT: CSCE: HELSINKI MEETING OF NEUTRALS, APRIL 29-30

REF: STOCKHOLM 2518

1. SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO FINNISH MFA POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
DIRECTOR ILONIEMI, THE FOUR NEUTRALS FOUND DURING THEIR
MEETING THAT THEY WERE STILL SUFFICIENTLY IN ACCORD TO MAKE
IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM ACT AS A GROUP ON PREPARATIONS FOR
BELGRADE CSCE MEETING IN 1977. THE NEUTRALS AGREED THAT
SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON IMPLEMENTING CSCE FINAL
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ACT, AND HOPED THAT MORE WOULD BE DONE CONCERNING CBM'S

AND BASKET III. THE NEUTRALS ARE HOPEFUL THAT BELGRADE WILL NOT BE TURNED INTO A "TRIBUNAL." FOREIGN MINISTER SORSA HAS SAID THAT FINNS NOT SEEKING PLAY CENTRAL ROLE AT BELGRADE, BUT THAT OTHERS EXPECT MORE THAN AVERAGE ACTIVITY FROM THEM. END SUMMARY.

2. POL COUNSELOR ON MAY 10 DISCUSSED HELSINKI MEETING OF NEUTRALS (FINLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND) WITH AMBASSADOR JAAKKO ILONIEMI, DIRECTOR OF MFA POLITICAL DEPARTMENT AND HEAD OF FINNISH DELEGATION TO MEETING. ILONIEMI SAID THAT INITIATIVE FOR MEETING CAME FROM FINNS AND THAT WHILE SWEDES HAD READILY AGREED AND AUSTRIANS SOMEWHAT MORE HESITANTLY SO, SWISS HAD FIRST BALKED AT IDEA ON BASIS IT WAS TOO EARLY TO FOCUS ON BELGRADE MEETING NOW. ACCORDING TO ILONIEMI, FINNS HAD WON SWISS OVER BY CONVINCING THEM THAT A GREAT DEAL NEEDED DOING BEFORE BELGRADE AND THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR FOUR NEUTRALS TO FIND OUT WHETHER THEY WERE STILL IN SUFFICIENT AGREEMENT ON CSCE TO ACT AS A GROUP. ILONIEMI SAID THAT MEETING HAD GONE WELL AND THAT IT WAS REMARKABLE HOW MUCH AGREEMENT THERE WAS AMONG THE NEUTRALS. NEXT MEETING WILL BE HELD IN VIENNA IN OCTOBER.

3. THE AGENDA OF THE HELSINKI MEEING CONSISTED OF THREE MAIN ITEMS: A GENERAL REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE CSCE FINAL ACT, A DISCUSSION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING, AND A DISCUSSION OF CSCE MATTERS BEYOND BELGRADE. MOST OF THE TIME WAS SPENT ON THE FIRST TWO ITEMS.

4. ILOMIEMI SAID THAT THE PARTICIPANTS HAD GONE THROUGH THE FINAL ACT PAGE BY PAGE IN THEIR REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS. THEY HAD AGREED THAT ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WOULD TAKE MANY YEARS AND THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY TO REACH JUDGMENT ON PROGRESS. REGARDING BASKET II ITEMS, ILONIEMI SAID THAT ALL HAD NOTICED SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITIONS FOR WESTERN BUSINESSMEN IN EAST EUROPE. THE NEUTRALS WERE PLEASED TO NOTE THAT ECE HAD TAKEN UP SEVERAL POINTS MENTIONED IN THE FINAL ACT, AND WERE SATISFIED WITH ECE'S HANDLING OF THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS FOR CONFERENCES ON ENERGY, ENVIRON-
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MENT, AND TRANSPORTATION. CONCERNING CBM'S THE NEUTRALS WERE DISSATISFIED WITH THE USE AND ROLE OF OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS, WHICH THEY FELT WAS MUCH TOO LIMITED BOTH IN REGARD TO FREQUENCY AND WHAT THE OBSERVERS WERE ABLE TO OBSERVE. IN A MORE GENERAL SENSE THE NEUTRALS FELT THAT THERE PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE MUCH FURTHER PROGRESS IN CBM'S OR OTHER MILITARY-DISARMAMENT AREAS UNTIL SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE AT MBFR TALKS. ON BASKET III QUESTIONS

ILONIEMI SAID THAT MOST OF THE TIME WAS SPENT ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATION MATTERS. NEUTRALS HAD FOUND THAT A GREAT DEAL NEEDED TO BE DONE BY ALL COUNTRIES IN SUCH FIELDS AS CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, PUBLICATION OF FOREIGN TITLES, AND TEACHING OF LANGUAGES. ILONIEMI SAID THAT DURING THEIR REVIEW THE NEUTRALS HAD BEEN IMPRESSED AGAIN BY THE GREAT DETAIL WITH WHICH THESE MATTERS WERE DEALT WITH IN THE FINAL ACT. ILONIEMI ALSO ADDED, AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF HOW TIME-CONSUMING DEALING WITH THESE CAN BE ALSO IN WESTERN COUNTRIES, THAT THE VARIOUS FINNISH MINISTRIES HAD JUST COMPLETED ONLY TWO WEEKS AGO THEIR SURVEY CONCERNING WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE FINAL ACT. PART OF THE PROBLEM HAD BEEN THE NEED TO TRANSLATE EVERYTHING. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NEUTRALS HAD DIFFERED SOMEWHAT ON QUESTIONS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, WHERE AUSTRIANS AND SWEDES HAVE MANY MORE PENDING AND EXPECTED CASES THAN SWISS OR FINNS.

5. REGARDING THE BELGRADE MEETING, ILONIEMI CONFIRMED MANY OF THE POINTS REPORTED IN REFTEL AND ALSO MADE FOLLOWING REMARKS: THE CHARACTER OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WOULD VERY MUCH DEPEND ON THE GENERAL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AT THAT TIME. IT WOULD PROBABLY BE VERY DIFFICULT AND TIME CONSUMING TO REACH AGREEMENT ON AGENDA AND FORMAT FOR BELGRADE MEETING (ILONIEMI IN THIS CONNECTION SAID THAT TOO MUCH SHOULD NOT BE MADE OF THE SOVIETS' WISH FOR A SHORT PREPARATORY STAGE, THEY HAD BEEN ARGUING THE SAME FOR THE 1972 CSCE MPT). IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FINAL ACT, THE BELGRADE AGENDA WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE A COMPLIANCE REVIEW, CONSIDERATION OF EXPERT GROUPS, AND DECISION ABOUT FUTURE MEETINGS. NEUTRALS WERE ALL HOPEFUL THAT BELGRADE WOULD

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NOT BE TURNED INTO A "TRIBUNAL". NEUTRALS HAD FOUND THAT THEIR VIEWS COINCIDED ENOUGH TO ALLOW THEM IN THEIR OWN SELF-INTEREST TO WORK AS A GROUP THAT WOULD ACT IN THE SAME MANNER AS DURING CSCE AND ATTEMPT TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE ALLIANCES IF NEEDED. NEUTRALS HAD ALSO DECIDED TO KEEP YUGOSLAVS, MALTESE AND CYPRIOTS INFORMED ABOUT THEIR ACTIVITIES, BOTH BECAUSE THESE COUNTRIES WERE OUTSIDE THE TWO ALLIANCES AND, AS ILONIEMI PUT IT, IN ORDER TO TRY TO AVOID PROBLEMS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HELSINKI 0973

6. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ILONIEMI SAID THAT GOF WAS FULLY AWARE OF CASE BILL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A CSCE IMPLEMENTATION COMMISSION. ILONIEMI'S ONLY COMMENT WAS THAT HE EXPECTED THAT MANY COUNTRIES WOULD SET UP SIMILAR BODIES AND THAT POLITICS AND A PROLIFERATION OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS COULD LEAD TO DEMANDS FOR TURNING BELGRADE INTO A "TRIBUNAL".

7. FOREIGN MINISTER SORSA ON MAY 11 TOLD FINNISH POLITICAL EDITORS THAT ONE OF THE EFFECTS OF THE CSCE WAS THAT FINLAND'S VIEWS WERE SOUGHT MORE THAN BEFORE, CITING THE BUSY SCHEDULE OF EXCHANGES OF HIGH LEVEL VISITS THAT
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HAS BEEN WORKED OUT FOR THIS YEAR AS EVIDENCE OF THIS. SORSA ALSO SAID THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT OTHER COUNTRIES EXPECT GREATER THAN AVERAGE ACTIVITY FROM THE FINNS REGARDING THE BELGRADE MEETING, BUT THAT FINLAND IS NOT LOOKING FOR ANY CENTRAL ROLE. ACCORDING TO SORSA THE RECENTLY HELD NEUTRALS CSCE MEETING HAD EVOKED A GREAT DEAL OF INTEREST AMONG BOTH THE SOCIALIST AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE COUNTRIES. HE THOUGHT THAT THE YUGOSLAVS MIGHT BE BROUGHT INTO THE NEXT NEUTRALS MEETING. SORSA ALSO POINTED OUT THE CONTRADICTION POSITION BETWEEN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND THE WESTERN PRESS CONCERNING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CSCE. HE SAID THAT IN HIS TALKS WITH POLITICAL LEADERS DURING HIS TRIPS TO FRANCE, DENMARK AND NORWAY, THE SO-CALLED HELSINKI SPIRIT WAS QUITE EVIDENT, BUT THAT THE PRESS CONTINUES TO BE QUITE SKEPTICAL REGARDING THE POSSIBILITIES TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT, PARTICULARLY BASKET III. CONCERNING POSSIBILITIES FOR PROGRESS AT THE MBFR TALKS SORSA WAS CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC, SAYING THERE HAD BEEN SOME NARROWING OF DIFFERENCES IN THE STANDS OF EAST AND WEST. HE ADDED THAT MBFR PROGRESS WOULD IN TURN INCREASE THE POSSIBILITIES OF SUCCESS FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING.

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